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. . . and the band played 'Dixie"

Most likely they know not what they do, but these Japanese women are checking an order for Confederate flags made by a factory in Yokohama for shipment to U.S. Southern states. The factory grosses $20,000 a year from this venture. And another blow is struck for the sanctity of Southern womanhood.

THE PHILADELPHIA HEARINGS

Un-Americans lay egg, but Walter gets his headlines

By Lawrence Emery

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities on July 17 and 18 made another hit-and-run foray, this time into Philadelphia, and, as one victim put it, developed "not a single fact . . . that was not known before."

Officially the hearings were "on the propaganda of the Communist Party in and around Philadelphia," but the Fund for the Republic, a small Quaker group and an actor and an actress, both blacklist victims, took the brunt of the two-day questioning. The CP propaganda angle was disposed of with three witnesses:

• Irving Fishman, deputy collector of customs for the Port of New York, testified that more than 120,000 pieces of Red literature from abroad reach Pennsylvania every month, most of it going to Philadelphia; he suggested legislation permitting tampering with first-class mail.

• Werner Marx, who fled the Nazis and served honorably in the U.S. Navy during World War II, was accused by committee counsel Richard Arens as "an agent of the communist conspiracy engaged in the dissemination of foreign political propaganda." Marx, who holds a master's degree from Pennsylvania U. but now works as a waiter, declined to answer questions under the First and Fifth Amendments. The committee indicated it would seek denaturalization proceedings against him.

• Walter Lowenfels, whose poetry is familiar to GUARDIAN readers and whose conviction under the Smith Act is now on appeal, also declined to answer questions.

For the rest, the committee, consisting of chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.),

(Continued on Page 7)

THE RIGID POLICY PERSISTS

U. S. rebuffs Egypt, trouble looming in Japan and Korea

By Kumar Goshal

WASHINGTON LAST WEEK CURTLY WITHDREW its offer of aid to Egypt to build the Aswan High Dam on the upper Nile. The U. S. State Dept. had been dangling this offer before Egypt's President Nasser for some time to draw him away from closer ties with the Soviet Union.

Secy. of State Dulles said he was willing to take the "calculated risk" of Nasser turning to Moscow for a loan to build the dam which is politically as well as economically vital to Egypt—and to Nasser's future. In Moscow, Soviet Foreign Minister Shepilov was reported to be noncommittal about Soviet aid for the dam; he made only a general statement about economic aid to Egypt.

The withdrawal was motivated partly by Dulles' desire to teach Nasser a lesson for accepting Soviet trade, partly to appease the Senators from cotton states who opposed helping Egypt grow more cotton for the world market. London followed Washington in withdrawing its own offer of aid.

"UNHAPPY READING": Reaction in both Cairo and London was sharply critical of the Anglo-American move. Typical of Cairo press reaction was the following: "Britain and America have once more unmasked themselves and [revealed] that their policy is based on destroying peoples' free wills, and that their aid . . . is merely intended to buy peoples, enslave them and rob them of their sovereignty. We have the last word to say . . ."

The London **Sunday Observer** (7/22) said the sudden withdrawal "will make unhappy reading throughout Asia . . ."

There were other indications last week that Washington had no intention of lightening its heavy-handed foreign policy.

ON DISARMAMENT: The UN Disarmament Commission adjourned on July 16 after adopting a Peruvian "compromise" resolution. It welcomed "the narrowing of differences on certain aspects of the disarmament problem," called on the five-power subcommittee (U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France, Canada) to try to reconcile at its October meeting the various proposals submitted at the July meeting.

Objecting that the resolution gave special emphasis to the U.S. point of view while it glossed over the Soviet viewpoint, Russia's Andrei Gromyko voted against it. Yugoslavia abstained after a French-Yugoslav proposal, calling on the Commission to recess while a more acceptable "procedural" resolution was worked out, failed to obtain a majority.

Carrefour, Paris

"What are our allies complaining about? In case of an attack, no more than 20 out of 100 A-bombs will reach Paris!"

Chief obstacle to a compromise disarmament plan was the U.S. insistence on the "open skies" inspection system, which Washington believes "is so popular with world opinion that the Soviet Union eventually will be impelled to accept it" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 7/17). But,

(Continued on Page 6)

BELFRAGE WRITES: "THEY ARE SATISFIED, BUT CAUTIOUS"

Moscow: How the man in the queue looks at things

By Cedric Belfrage

MOSCOW

THE SOVIET PEOPLE—if I may imprudently generalize from as many conversations and contacts as can be jammed into a few weeks here—have already emerged from the shock of the Stalin-era revelations, but will take some time yet to adjust to the new and strange climate. By and large they are well satisfied with the country's material progress all along, but when the new government insists they could and should move faster they react cautiously. In the Stalin era they got into bad democratic habits because, except on minor levels, criticizing or taking initiative came to be thought dangerous. They have got used to the initiative coming from the top.

The present stage is characterized by strong criticism of the bureaucratic constipation which inevitably develops when the rank and file doesn't talk up, and many specific complaints such as against steamroller education methods and the domination of males in leadership. There is a healthy skepticism about what leaders say, based on a wait-and-see attitude about what they will do—especially in the realm of housing, for all are fed up with communal living and long for the joy of some privacy.

THE BUSTS ARE GONE: Khrushchev is popular in many circles but one often hears: "He talks too much." There are no longer any sacred cows. Few believe Stalin was as bad as he is now painted, and many still revere him—but of course with reservations. The hideous Stalin busts which littered Moscow have almost gone, but pictures of him remain all over town and one observes absolutely no reaction to them whatever.

It seems too early yet for a new outburst of rank-and-file initiative; but my impression from the extent of the new criticism is that it will soon be seen, and will surprise those who have nothing but the "Stalinism equals socialism" theory to cling to. The situation is very fluid here because people think and talk of their state not as something that has been made, but something they are still making. An indication of this feeling is that one hears nobody talk about the Soviet constitution and using it, as American progressives do theirs, as a yardstick of liberties denied or trampled. It has not been around long enough, and its civil-liberties clauses never have been implemented.

A TOUGH JOB: The CPSU Central Committee shows its concern to stimulate rank-and-file initiative by repeatedly stressing this in its July 2 resolution "on overcoming the cult of the individual." This resolution begins the task, which will probably be carried further in the Supreme Soviet session, of explaining in more acceptable Marxist terms why the present leadership deemed it too risky—not for themselves, but for survival of the socialist state—to expose Stalin while he was still alive. But after two decades of the "cult" it's tough to convince people that it pays to talk and act boldly. The suggestion is often heard that elections offering an alternative to the machine-nominated candidate would help.

The people are sampling the water with one toe and the new collective leadership

(Continued on Page 4)

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THE MAIL BAG

Bow to W.E.B.

BRAINERD, MINN.

Congratulations to Dr. DuBois on his excellent article regarding the coming 1956 election.

Robert Scherlie

By electro-magnates?

ASHEVILLE, N. CAR.

Fourteen electronic brains are said to have counted the votes in the recent Italian election in Rome. I am not a bit mechanical—but might not an electronic brain be subjected to an electronic brain-washing?

M. McCauley

Furtseva

NEW YORK, N.Y.

During this period when developments in the Soviet Union have forced a rethinking of events upon us, I feel it is our duty and our best guarantee of righting what has been wrong to ask questions of our friends that are hard to answer. I feel the GUARDIAN has had a tendency to roll with the punch and accept all being said on the Left, but not give its own positions or ask questions of its own. For instance, Furtseva's statement to Tabitha Petran was really little more than the usual declarations by high government figures.

Herman Leon

•

MONTREAL, CAN.

The interview with Ekaterina Furtseva was quite revealing. This "attractive blue-eyed woman" is quite conscious and analytical of the proportions of Jews employed as musicians, in various government departments, etc. For a leading official of a country that officially does not differentiate between ethnic groupings, this attitude appears somewhat strange. If this is a clue to the mentality of a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR and one of its eight secretaries, then it is quite obvious to me that old Joe was not alone to blame for the sad state of affairs that have been exposed in the USSR.

N. Segal

•

NORRISTOWN, PA.

. . . 80% of musicians greeting Tito could be Jewish without undermining "Lenin's Nationality Principles," while 50% employed in some bureau, evidently, were detrimental to that principle and, presumably, to the USSR. What kind of hogwash is this? When will the present Soviet leaders stop shilly-shallying and come clean about the destruction of Jewish culture and the wholesale murder of the Jewish writers, artists, etc.? And finally, how long will it take until Furtseva, beyond doubt anti-Semitic, is kicked in the pants and out?

G. Burnstien

•

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Are we wrongly shocked to find a quota system operating in Socialist countries where we expected to find people simply regarded as people, not Russians, Jews, Armenians, Georgians or what have you? If those Jewish people were doing their jobs well in those departments, why was it necessary to transfer them simply because they were Jews and 50% was too big a quota? What are "Lenin's principles on the national problem," and how do they apply to this shifting of Jewish people from jobs because there is too large a concentration of them in this or that department?

I. L. P.

Many letters on Tabitha Petran's interview with Ekaterina Furtseva (GUARDIAN, 6/25) criticised the phrase in the headline saying that Mrs. Furtseva "denies Jewish curbs." While she indeed did make such a denial the readers were right in noting that her subsequent statements to Miss Petran revealed the existence of a Jewish quota system in government. The headline was remiss in not pointing this out. Further, in transmission, the cable was garbled so that two points require correction. The six-hour day referred to in the story applies to young people (as against a 46-hour week for others). The sentence which said that no party congresses were held "in 1939 and 1952" should have read "between 1939 and 1952." EDITOR.

Norris of Nebraska

ORLANDO, FLA.

In Reuben Borough's series on "How Nebraska Ousted the Power Trust," he eulogizes the late Senator George W. Norris, the "father" of the Tennessee Valley Authority. This brings to mind a visit in the Spring of 1937. On our way north we had visited the Norris Dam near Knoxville. The grounds near the top of the dam had been made into a charming resort, and brochures were available with photographs and a short history of the Dam. Armed with these we sought an interview with the Senator and asked him to write his name on them. He graciously did so. Afterward we gave them to a school teacher. She reported that she took them to class and after a short talk about TVA gave them to the children to examine. In a few days they were dog-eared and no longer fit for use!

But the influence of Senator Norris on the country which he loved so much was visible in a far wider setting than that of a New York schoolroom. Through extended summer sojourns in the vast region served by the TVA, I saw it change from one of shy, poverty-stricken, mountain people—half resentful of the "Yankees" who came among them bringing their huge machines, filling their small hotels and village streets with strangers, and making promises "impossible to be kept"—into a satisfied, modern, prosperous community.

It has been a demonstration of what "economic aid" can do, and it began at home!

Bertha W. Howe

•

PORTLAND, ORE.

Re your article on Norris and Nebraska: People should read Norris' autobiography, "Fighting Liberal." Your article was very good and full of information.

Martha Swanson

Point well taken

DENVER, COLO.

While I agree with your opinion of Herman Talmadge, I do not agree with your policy of ridiculing the Southern pronunciation.

Myrtle Tully

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Although I am not yet a confirmed hypochondriac, if I have to hear much more about the President's intestines I very soon will be!"

Congrats

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Congratulations for special service you render in the June 25 issue of your paper; which connects the textile union convention with conditions in the South where the White Councils are active. We here in New York don't know much about the workers' conditions due to the fact that the daily press does not report such things.

Peter Palazzo

Take a bow, boys

RICHMOND, CALIF.

Was very glad to see the GUARDIAN run the picture of Butch and Kayo Hallinan along with the story of their boxing championship at the University of Calif., because these two boys have really been lampooned by the commercial press because of their father's and mother's liberal beliefs and practices. Those numerals Kayo won at Cal. were won as a freshman tackle who refused to cross a picket line to board a plane for a football game. I can personally say that I have never in my life met two finer, unspoiled, well-mannered, courteous young man.

Name Withheld

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON, July 12 (UP) — Government security officers are having trouble with a brilliant scientist who keeps inventing "top secret ideas." They have denied him access to his own secrets but can't seem to "classify his head." . . . The Defense Dept. refused to clear the scientist for access to secret papers but failed to put a damper on his brainwork.

N. Y. Daily Mirror
July 12, 1956

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: William Seitz, Whitestone, L. I. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

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REPORT TO READERS

On Fellowship

AN OLD FRIEND, vacationing at World Fellowship Center near Conway, N.H., in the White Mountains, sends us this anecdote:

Of 35 or so people gathered for a discussion, the Center director Dr. Willard Uphaus asked each to tell why he or she had come to World Fellowship. A young factory worker from Massachusetts said there was no reason for his mind to go to sleep while he was on a vacation, so he chose a place which would keep it jumping. A Michigan teacher of philosophy said she wanted an opportunity to talk freely with others on philosophy. A New York teacher wanted to exchange views with others who might disagree with him. A social worker came because he had known Dr. Uphaus for many years and admired his courage (Dr. Uphaus is defending himself on contempt charges for refusing to discuss the conduct and guests of World Fellowship with New Hampshire's headline-hunting attorney-general.)

Finally a 15-year-old girl, who had come with her engineer father, spoke up:

"We learned about World Fellowship from the GUARDIAN, and we knew it must be a fine place."

IT'S PLEASING INDEED to learn that our endorsements carry such conviction; and the corollary of suiting the action to the word, as in the case of our teen-age booster and her engineer pop, is ideal.

But we must confess that this is not always the case. If it were, some of the better vacation spots here and there would have weekly overflows and customers would be pouring in the windows of all our advertisers. Also, our new line of Hungarian cookware would be clattering from Buda to Pest and back each week.

BUT ACTION is sometimes slow to follow approval. A case in point is that of Attorney Fyke Farmer of Nashville, Tenn. Mr. Farmer is a rebel with a cause. He is suing to enjoin the government from collecting his 1950 income tax payment which he withheld in protest against the use of tax money to pursue the undeclared Korean War. The government tried to have the suit thrown out, but failed, and it is now set for trial beginning Sept. 25.

Mr. Farmer told the story of his case in a GUARDIAN ad May 28 and asked for funds to support the court fight.

We had a notion that practically everybody would want to put a dollar or at least a strip of stamps in an envelope to back Mr. Farmer's bold thrust, but he came through town one day recently and told us the response had been by no means a bumper one, probably not more than a hundred individuals.

Don't you really think it will be a neat change of affairs to have the government on the hot seat for once in a tax suit? Especially over Cold War taxes? Well, in case you agree and have been meaning to help out, Fyke Farmer's address is 300 West Bellevue Drive, Nashville 5, Tenn.

AND WHILE YOU'RE ABOUT IT, the usual nine out of ten GUARDIAN subscribers have unanswered letters from us somewhere around the house. You can help a lot in relieving our annual attack of summer complaint if you'll dig out yours and answer it today.

—THE GUARDIAN

East-West trade

DETROIT, MICH.

In 1931, the U. S. shipped to the Soviet Union 90% of its exports of agricultural combines, 87% of its wheel tractor exports, 74% of its foundry equipment exports, 70% of its crushing mill exports, 68% of its forging and stamping equipment exports, 67 per cent of its agricultural machinery exports and 65% of its machine tool exports. If the present administration doesn't lift the political barriers millions of workingmen and farmers will pay the economic cost.

Eino Hiltunen

Required reading

SULLIVAN CO. N. Y.

I doubt if many GUARDIAN readers realize what today's high school classrooms are like. As a student I can tell you that my progressive ideas must be held down and suppressed to a drastic extent. In schools stricter than mine, with reactionary teachers, students are compelled to accept the propaganda of the capitalist machine.

It is truly a boon for me to be able to read the GUARDIAN, a newspaper of sincerity and accuracy.

Upstater

AS HOOVER DEFENDS THE FACELESS ONES

Fitzgerald loses appeal; Supreme Court next

FBI DIRECTOR J. Edgar Hoover last week submitted his annual report on the activities of his political cops and again defended the use of the anonymous and protected tale-bearer on the ground that tips from such people last year led to the arrest of some 2,000 "criminal and subversive" suspects.

Although not mentioned in the current report, the most notorious of Mr. Hoover's "confidential informants" is self-proclaimed Spy Queen Elizabeth Bentley who, over the years, has named some 80-odd persons as members of war-time spy rings. Although her charges have been subjected to countless Congressional probes and grand jury investigations, no one she named has ever been arrested, indicted or tried for espionage. But exploitation of her fantasies finally led in 1954 to the enactment of a law, long sought by Atty. Gen. Brownell, which cancels out the Fifth Amendment in "subversive" cases.

SUPREME COURT NEXT: Early this month the first round of a second constitutional test of the Compulsory Testimony Act was lost when a six-month sentence for contempt of court was upheld against Edward Fitzgerald, former government economist. He announced that he will press his appeal against the conviction back to the Supreme Court, which ruled 7 to 2 on March 26 that the law is constitutional. That decision was made in the case of William Ludwig Ullmann, former government employe also named by Bentley. Ullmann has since appeared before a grand jury and denied all the Bentley charges, thus "purging" himself of his contempt conviction.

Fitzgerald, ordered to answer questions in July, 1955, under a grant of "immunity" provided in the new law, held to his right of silence under the Fifth Amendment and said:

"I wish to make the record very clear on one matter. I repudiate with resentment the government's offer to me of immunity from prosecution for any crime. The government has not formally charged me with any crime or prosecuted me. I seek no pardon or amnesty or immunity for any act of mine. I reject unconditionally the immunity tendered to me in the grand jury proceedings."

THE BURDICK CASE: The Fitzgerald appeal cited the case of George Burdick who, as editor of the old N.Y. **Tribune**, was granted a Presidential pardon in an effort to force him to testify about news stories he had published. He refused to accept the pardon and instead invoked the Fifth Amendment. He was upheld by the Supreme Court.

In resisting the use of the Compulsory Testimony Act against him, Fitzgerald had sought to subpena Bentley, Hoover and Brownell "to show that they have no facts remotely connecting [him] with any espionage." The government was successful in quashing the subpenas.

Fitzgerald raised other points in his appeal and argued that in his case the Compulsory Testimony Act was "unconstitutionally and illegally construed and applied," but on July 6 a three-man panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals in New York in a brief decision ruled that "all questions of substance here were settled adversely to the appellant [Fitzgerald] by the Ullmann decision . . ."

THE MAGIC WORDS: In an earlier statement commenting on the Ullmann decision, Fitzgerald had said:

"As matters now stand, Atty. Gen. Brownell need only incant the magic words 'national security,' and lo!, for a luckless witness, the Fifth Amendment has been repealed."

He described the position of a witness forced to testify under the law:

"Granted 'immunity' he does not want, for crimes he did not commit, the witness is securely impaled on the horns of a dilemma. Should he truthfully deny his guilt, Brownell can . . . trot out a couple of paid informers who will dutifully fabricate a perjury charge. Moreover, the questions put under cover of the Compulsory Testimony Law are not limited to those dealing directly with national security, but they include the customary assortment of queries as to political beliefs and associations, answers to all of which, despite the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment, are compulsory. Thus, the only way for the witness to avoid a perjury charge is, in fact, to commit perjury. Only by saying what Brownell wants him to say, can the witness escape the witchhunter's vengeance."

EDWARD FITZGERALD
One court higher

PEACE IS A DIRTY WORD STILL

Mrs. Gowgiel's ordeal

MOTHERS, FATHERS, WIVES and sweethearts of men fighting in Korea met at the Argo, Ill., home of Mrs. Florence Gowgiel in October, 1952, and organized the Save Our Sons Committee to "end this senseless, bloody war now . . . and to save our sons." Mrs. Gowgiel and the father of a prisoner of war in Korea were named co-chairmen.

Its first action was reported in the committee's April, 1953, bulletin: "A delegation of parents of Midwest area GIs in Korea, members of the SOS, called at the White House on March 4 and left a scroll bearing thousands of signatures urging a cease-fire and immediate return of our boys from Korea." The scroll told President Eisenhower:

". . . You campaigned as a candidate dedicated to peace. You were elected on this basis to the highest office in our land. Now we call upon you to fulfill your solemn promise to us. Make peace. End the Korean war. Propose an immediate cease-fire and settlement of the POW issue by negotiations. As your very first act in the White House, stop the killing and make it possible for our loved ones to come home."

THE PROBERS: On June 18 and 19 this year, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, investigating "communist propaganda methods," called Mrs. Gowgiel to Washington, along with two Illinois servicemen who were POW's in Korea—Dale E. Jones and Ernest Spencer—and an FBI undercover agent, Anzelm A. Czarnowski. Czarnowski testified that Mrs. Gowgiel followed the "Communist line." This line, he said, was to stop the war immediately and negotiate later.

Jones said he did not sign a letter attributed to him which SOS circulated; Spencer said he did write a letter, but under pressure in the camp.

Mrs. Gowgiel in her testimony revealed only her name and address and answered a few general questions about war. She refused to tell what publications she received or read, whether she wrote to her Congressman, what her political affiliations were; she named no names. Her position, she felt, was one of trust, and she wasn't going to help the committee hound others. She maintained her stand despite threats of contempt citation.

EXPLAINS HER STAND: Chicago **Daily News** correspondent Edwin A. Lahey said Mrs. Gowgiel's "general appearance did not cast her well for her role as a villainess in this drama of communist subversion." Committee counsel Tavenner's contribution to culture was calling the witness Mrs. "Gargoyle."

In a letter to a friend last week, Mrs. Gowgiel wrote:

"To me the most horrible aspect of the 'hearing' is that an innocent person can be framed by professional informers and frightened people. The press, far from checking such frameups and inquisitions, has operated in a vital way to advance such injustice.

"Who could stand the killing in Korea without protesting? Who could stand the A-bomb tests without protesting? Under the Fifth Amendment . . . I had to say nothing all day, regardless of what was said about me. I remember reading about a great historical figure, Jesus, who, when he was confronted by Pontius Pilate, said nothing. He didn't deny working for brotherhood; he didn't name the people with whom he worked. When false charges were made against Him and He was asked to say something, He refused to cooperate . . ."

THE REWARDS: Mrs. Gowgiel has not been cited for contempt. The committee got what it wanted—further evidence of a "communist plot" to secure peace. Mrs. Gowgiel got the usual rewards that come to an un-cooperative witness before the inquisition: She lost her beauty parlor; the local American Legion has been carrying on an unremitting campaign against her; the local press is giving the Legion full aid and comfort.

MRS. FLORENCE GOWGIEL
Who could be silent?

GUARDIAN TOOK UP THIS CASE

Paul Brown freed in Milwaukee after 2 years of harassment

IN ITS ISSUE of Feb. 20 this year the GUARDIAN told the story of Paul Brown who changed his name from Samuel Horowitz to avoid blacklisting after becoming widely-known as a Communist Party official in St. Paul, Minn. Because he registered an automobile under his new name, he was sentenced to a six-month jail term in Minneapolis—and then served an additional nine months while fighting extradition to Milwaukee where the maximum penalty under the same charge is five years imprisonment.

PAUL BROWN
It has been worth it

By March 15 the Paul Brown Defense Committee in Milwaukee reported that GUARDIAN readers have responded to the case with 61 financial contributions from 13 states.

On July 10, after more than two years of harassment, the case against Brown was dismissed on the ground that he had a lawful right to change his name and that there was no evidence of intent to defraud. Said Brown:

"I wish to thank all people in Milwaukee and throughout the country who have displayed the courage and principle to break through the wall of police and FBI intimidation and declare this case what it really was—a case of political persecution—and to declare my right to think and speak as I please without harassment. I am also profoundly thankful for the courage of my attorney, Mr. M. Michael Essin, who did not hesitate to defend me in the face of considerable public censure.

"My case has been won at great cost to me personally and to others. But I believe all those who have helped me will agree with me that the long drawn-out effort has been worth it in view of the outstanding victory for civil liberties. I believe this victory is one more stepping-stone to the repeal of repressive laws against political minorities."

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THE SILENCE ENDS

Polish press leads drive to wipe out anti-Semitism

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

WARSAW

SINCE THE PUBLICATION of the sensational story in Volksstimme on the liquidation of the Jewish intelligentsia in the U.S.R.R., much has been published in the press on anti-Semitism. Among the papers devoting much space to this topic have been **Zycie Warszawy**, Warsaw's most widely read daily, and **Przeglad Kulturalny**, an outstanding literary weekly. The latter caused considerable stir with an article by Jerzy Broszkiewicz who told of a little girl in a Warsaw school whom the teacher placed at a bench by herself because she was Jewish.

Po Prostu, once a modest students' weekly which developed into the voice of the young Polish intelligentsia, recently ran a front-page historical analysis of anti-Semitism. People become anti-Semites, the author argued, through education and early environment, and this irrational prejudice, immune to reasoned criticism, is difficult to eradicate later in life. Even the "mildest" form must be uprooted, he said, since, however harmless it may appear in its original social and economic forms, it prepares the ground for the concentration camp. "Whenever even the slightest shadow of anti-Semitism falls upon our doors," the author warned, "beware! The mob is ready for action. The counter-revolution is showing its ugly fangs." The **Po Prostu** discussion itself seems less significant than the fact that it was considered necessary.

SILENT TOO LONG: A far more concrete discussion of present-day anti-Semitism appeared in the Cracow daily **Dziennik Polski.** The paper opened its column to a flood of letters and held public meetings at which readers met with the editors. The editor, Ignacy Krasicki, wrote that there had been for too long a conspiracy of silence on the Jewish question: "The most popular, and you might say the initial, form of anti-Semitism is to say that anti-Semitism does not exist."

Krasicki—a descendant of Poland's famous 18th century satirist of the same name—noted that because of past persecution, Jews are particularly sensitive to the social and political climate in which they live; the show trials of the Beria period, with their anti-Semitic overtones, caused real alarm in the Jewish community; while panic and fear have today abated, anti-Semitism and tolerance of racist excesses are still found in everyday life.

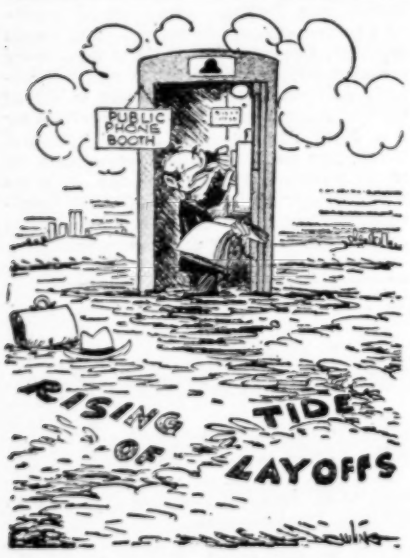
While not objecting to individual immigration to Israel, the author believes—largely on the basis of letters from readers—that the vast majority of Polish Jews are determined to remain in Poland.

TAKES A LONG TIME: This correspondent is impressed by the fact that many Polish Jews who had lost entire families in the Nazi extermination camps here returned to Poland after the war, determined to help rebuild their devastated home-land. That these same Jews do not always feel fully accepted—despite all constitutional guarantees and despite the fact that anti-Semitism in Poland is a crime punishable under the law—testifies to the long process of education necessary to eradicate race prejudice.

Krasicki, in an editorial in **Dziennik Polski**, pointed out that while today's youth is far less subject to anti-Semitic agitation than Poland's youth ten years ago, even "11 years of People's Poland do not permit us to state that anti-Semitism has been completely done away with. The dark traditions of anti-Semitism, which afflicted Poland's petty bourgeoisie—and not only her petty bourgeoisie—were too strongly rooted to have disappeared within 11 years."

NOT DETERMINED ENOUGH: "Anyone who supposes," he added, "that anti-Semitism ends automatically with the introduction of a new social system—however enlightened that system may be politically—commits a grave error. A new social system merely creates the possibility of liquidating racial prejudices. The possibility becomes a reality only as a result of intensive social struggle. I dare to state that we have not been sufficiently determined in carrying out this struggle . . . We have kept silent for too long." In quoting a reader's letter approving of Hitler's racial policies, Krasicki points to the "barbarian state of mind of some of our fellow-citizens."

The fact that anti-Semitism still exists among sections of the Polish population may be disturbing, but is hardly surprising in view of this country's feudal past which—in more respects than this one—still often clashes with its socialist present. What is heartening is that this reasoned, and reasonable, discussion could and did take place this summer—in the press, on the air, and in any number of public meetings.



N. Y. Herald Tribune
"Hello, what's new on the steel strike?"

Strong medicine

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Ike tells his doctors he's feeling "stronger and stronger." Good thing, too. He'll have to be strong to serve out all the terms his doctors have already prescribed for him.

Fletcher Knebel,
Des Moines (Ia.) **Register**, July 3.

ENOUGH OF SORROW
The former Warsaw ghetto, 1948

Larkin Marshall is dead at 80

THE GUARDIAN has learned with deep sorrow of the loss of a dear friend and a great American. Larkin Marshall, Negro leader of Macon, Ga., died on Saturday, July 7. During his nearly 80 years, Marshall worked continuously for civil rights and progressive ideals. In his home town, Macon, he helped organize the Negro community into a strong voting force. For a few years he published **The Macon World**, which helped bring about improvements for white as well as Negro citizens. He helped found the Progressive Party in 1948 and its candidate for U. S. Senator from Georgia. The Progressive Party of Georgia performed the almost unbelievable task of getting over 50,000 names on a petition to put Marshall and his fellow candidates on the ballot. The state election laws were changed and his name did not appear.

Following 1948 he continued giving leadership to progressive forces until illness forced him into inactivity.

Belfrage in Moscow

(Continued from Page 1)

seems in mind to throw them in and make them swim. When the Central Committee reminds the nation that "history is made by the people", it says it as if it meant it. Khrushchev's ire was roused by a collective farmer who told him he was "living fine" and then displayed the sort of house inhabited by the most wretched of Dixie sharecroppers. He told the farmer it wasn't so bad to kid him (Khrushchev) but it was a disgrace so to kid himself. In asking the people to kick harder and more often, the leaders are, however, taking a calculated risk, as the Central Committee resolution makes clear. The recent, quickly-squelched Poznan "uprising," in Poland where there has been a major purge of the police, was a reminder of Washington's $100 million kitty for subversion in socialist countries to which another $25 million were just added. The easing of entry and other restrictions on foreigners, among other drastic reforms already undertaken, makes the "quiet American" provocateurs' job enormously easier.

STRUGGLE IN PARTY: On relations with foreign CP's as well as the need for sweeping domestic changes, a struggle is reported in progress within the CPSU between a new "radical" group and those who, while deploring the fruits of Stalinolatry, insist that under Stalin "things at least got done." The undoubted trend toward greater autonomy for foreign CP's, all of which show deep disturbance, makes the latter group unhappy while the former feel that looser associations between Marxist parties are desirable.

(The Central Committee's resolution, while obviously disapproving the strong criticisms of CPSU leaders from Italian CP leader Togliatti, lets him down very lightly. The only foreign CP leader's statement so far reprinted here at length is that of the U.S.'s Eugene Dennis, which I saw many Muscovites reading carefully in buses and subways and which seems to have created an excellent impression.)

I cannot detail all the critical conversations I have had about different areas of Soviet life, but they add up to an almost unrecognizable climate of frankness compared with 1936, when the Stalin-era pall on free discussion had only begun to fall. In cultural fields one notes the virtual disappearance of Stalin-style painting, young artists on exhibition favoring a British Royal Academy style of realism with political themes muted or absent. In music, Shostakovich's earlier declaration of independence for which he was slapped down has been vindicated, and the patience he showed at the time abundantly justified. In movies, the popularity of the home product has slumped and films imported from France and Italy are the vogue.

Herblock in Washington Post
"Hey—Pravda is reprinting from us."

ARCHITECTS SLOWER: Architecture has yet to emerge from the florid school prompted, as some Muscovites wisecrack, by "Lenin's fatal remark, 'the people too will have pillars'." An architect who had just come from a lecture on Frank Lloyd Wright (the professional audience cheered Wright's condemnation of prize competitions "because the judges are always the sort of people who will throw out anything good") said no new deal had yet started in her field. But she felt a beginning had been made with the recent bringing together of Moscow's architects—in the past proudly aloof as "artists"—with builders and engineers in one organization.

Observable changes in the press—still publishing critical material following on Central Committee decisions, but rarely initiating it—are small, but papers are snapped up even more eagerly than ever. At the bookstores crowds look through the wares hoping perhaps for a new school of work by Soviet writers, but meanwhile showing greater interest in translations of foreign works. In all these creative areas the "second revolution" needs more time to show itself, in view of the rigid climate in which all artists have so long worked.

Stray conversations which Muscovites are ever-eager to strike up indicate a strong—perhaps an excessive—consciousness of U. S. and British leads in technology, with the conviction that the U.S.S.R. will surely catch up soon on all fronts "if there is no war." (A typical man-in-the-queue said to me with deep feeling: "We are all human beings—why have a war? If we don't, life will be good for us all.")

ENCOURAGEMENT NEEDED: In the U.S.S.R. as in the U.S., the future depends on the people's ability to shake off the psychological effects of cold-war hysteria, of an era in which both countries' political police have run amok. Distinguished foreign visitors who obtained a comprehensive view of Soviet life express themselves optimistically on leaving. India's Vice President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, for example, noting the "nightmare" of the past, saw "genuine" changes in the new relaxed atmosphere of freer movement and thought. He warned that those who did not recognize and encourage these changes in the U.S.S.R. would "only do harm to themselves," and said "insistence on past wrongs will not help anyone."

On the same day in Britain, Harry Truman, whose Hiroshima-Korea-Rosenberg record gives him little cause for self-righteousness, expressed "no faith" in Soviet leaders' admission of past errors and said "what they are doing is not honest."

I think coming developments will show that Radhakrishnan is a considerably wiser man.

II—EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UNION: HIGHER LEARNING

The competition is tough; 51% of students are women

By Tabitha Petran

(Second of two articles)

MOSCOW

ALL OVER THE U.S.S.R. in early summer tenth-formers who want to enter universities or higher technical institutes are studying for or taking entrance exams. In Moscow, earnest young boys and girls pore over books in parks, libraries, and on riverbanks. Sometimes they complain that exams get harder every year because, they say, the Soviet Union is suffering an "overproduction" of specialists in some lines.

Exams are not getting harder, Russian Minister of Higher Education Ilyutin told the GUARDIAN recently, but competition is getting tougher. Five exams are given: mathematics, physics, chemistry, Russian and a foreign language. The highest mark for each is 5, for a total of 25. If some years ago, said Ilyutin, "people with a mark of 20 or 21 were accepted, last year they had to get 23 and this year 24 or 25. Moreover, this year, [defense chief] Zhukov complicated the situation by demobilizing 1,200,000 men, many of whom will want to be accepted in higher educational institutes." Demobilized men, and men and women working in industry, get preference in that they will be accepted with a mark as low as 20.

THREE TO ONE: In the U.S.S.R. there is, of course, no system of preparatory courses for higher schools since middle school education is unified, all students receiving the same knowledge no matter where they want to go, and all having enough knowledge to enter higher schools. Competition is tough because there are so many more applicants than places: in 1955, for example, 1,300,000 graduated from middle schools but only 400,000 were accepted into higher educational institutes. As a rule, there are three applicants for every place. But, for example, at the Moscow Energetics Institute, where all problems dealing with production, distribution and consumption of energy are studied, there are more than five applicants for every admission. At this Institute, where on a recent day the reception hall was crowded with young boys and girls making out entrance applications, some 11,000 pupils (of whom 4,000 are girls) study. Among them are students from Eastern Europe and China. Here as at all other schools professors almost invariably hold out a welcome to American students if they would come.

TESTING SEEDS FOR FOREST NURSERIES IN THE UKRAINE
A technician at the Kharkov Forestry Research Institute

Minister Ilyutin denied that there was any "overproduction" of specialists, although in some specialties there might be temporary excesses. A temporary excess of teachers he attributed to the fact that during the war the birthrate was much lower than in previous years, hence the number studying in higher institutes now is a little less than normal. But by 1960 there will be more teaching posts than teachers.

ACCORDING TO PLAN: Soviet higher education is planned to meet the country's needs. According to Ilyutin, the preparation of specialists is the most difficult part of planning since production is planned on a five-year basis while education should be planned on ten years. "Our Ministry and the Ministry of State Planning," he said, "try to make estimates but sometimes we make mistakes—as much as 2%. This doesn't speak in our favor and we were severely criticized for it."

Great attention is now being paid to polytechnical education: work and study at the same time. Out of the 1,865,000 students currently attending the U.S.S.R.'s 800 higher educational institutes, 700,000 are also working and this figure will soon rise to one million. In case of higher technical education, the number of students taking evening and correspondence courses increased from 40,000 in 1940 to 200,000 in 1950 and is still rising. More and more evening branches are being opened in Komsomol centers and higher educational institutes now have as many as 40 different branches located in plants and enterprises.

Students taking evening and correspondence courses get special benefits from the state: longer holidays and for the last half-year before graduation complete freedom from the job with full-time pay. Graduation from higher educational institutes requires five to five-and-half years. Generally only a year longer is required for evening and correspondent students since they are freed from practical courses. Students at higher institutes and those taking exams for entrance (if they pass) are exempt from military service. Whether or not the student has to serve after graduation depends on where and at what he will work.

NO CUTTING: At all institutes, students are obliged to attend all lectures, the principle being that since workers have to go to work every day, students must follow a similar discipline: higher education is very expensive, the government pays for both teachers and students (even before the recent abolition of tuition fees most students received generous stipends and such fees were in any case low). Therefore the student's responsibility is to work and graduate and the overwhelming majority—90%—of those who enter do graduate.

Women make up 51% of students in all higher educational schools, and in higher technical schools, 34%. Even in some technical institutes women outnumber—or at least rank equal—with men; at the Leningrad Technical Institute 57% of the student body are women; at Mendelyev Chemical Institute, 52%; Moscow Institute of Farm Chemical Technology, 70%; Institutes of Construction, 43%; Oil Institutes, 40%.

Cold war alarmists in the West sometimes become almost hysterical over the growth of technical education in the U.S.S.R. as contrasted with its lagging in the U.S. Soviet progress is impressive, constituting a real challenge. The number of higher technical institutes has grown from 15 in pre-revolutionary Russia to 164 in 1940 and 193 (174 regular, 13 correspondence and six evening) today. The student total at such institutes rose from 20,700 in 1914, to 203,000 in 1940, 320,000 in 1950 and 645,000 in 1955. Number of engineers graduating each year from 1,500-2,000 in pre-revolutionary Russia to 29,300 in 1940, 36,000 in 1950, and 65,100 in 1955. In 1956 the number will be 70,000.

A NEW PHASE: The growth of the technical intelligentsia can be seen even more graphically: during the fourth five-year plan 133,000 engineers graduated; during the fifth, 255,000 and during the sixth the number will be 480,000.

Ilyutin emphasized that higher technical institutes give a "deep and broad knowledge" with stress on general and theoretical subjects—higher mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc. Usually social and economic subjects occupy about 15% of the students time. A foreign language is obligatory.

Some Western educators have equated graduation from the U.S.S.R. five-year higher educational institutes to an M.A. or M.S. in the U.S. Ilyutin was unwilling to state flatly that this was true without "deeper study of the American system." Great stress is now placed here on becoming acquainted with foreign developments in all fields and on willingness to learn from abroad. And certainly the new problems Soviet educators are trying to solve underline the fact that in this field as in so many others Soviet society is at the beginning of a new phase of development.

GOVERNOR ORDERS A PROBE

Summer students keep the boycott going at S. C. State; 15 Negro leaders expelled

ORANGEBURG, S.C., White Citizens Councils in the vicinity of S. C. State College (Negro) declared all-out economic war last year on all supporters of the U. S. Supreme Court anti-jimcrow decisions (GUARDIAN, 4/16). They drove Negro small business into bankruptcy. Negro employes, at the risk of their jobs, were forced to take their names off integration petitions.

State College students—backed by some faculty members—began a counter-offensive by making a list of WCC members to boycott: a laundry which serviced the dormitories; a dairy and a bakery supplying the college dining room and off-the-campus lunchrooms; an ice-cream and soft-drink distributor who handled products allegedly manufactured by Orangeburg's mayor.

The S. C. General Assembly in January cracked down with a resolution calling for investigation of college NAACP activities, a bill making teachers' membership in the NAACP "or the Communist Party" grounds for dismissal, and a threat to remove tax-exemption from churches allowing meetings of "the Communist Party or the NAACP." State College President Benner C. Turner, a Negro, threatened boycotting students with expulsion and teachers supporting them with dismissal. The all-white board of trustees upheld him.

MILITANT ACTION: Following their dining-room boycott, students sent a delegation to President Turner. Gov. Timmerman ordered state police to the campus for "surveillance." Students thereupon boycotted classes. Dr. Turner promised to consider the list of submitted grievances —among them a request that he stand firmly either for jimcrow or integration —if the students returned to their classes. The trustees' search for the student leader ended meanwhile with senior Fred H. Moore's expulsion a few weeks before he was to graduate. Crippled by polio, he was a brilliant major in chemistry.

Students at various times hanged in effigy the governor, several legislators, and Dr. Turner. Chalk writing appeared overnight on walls and walks: "This way to Uncle Tom's Cabin"; "Dr. Turner, be a man!"; "Stop being an Uncle Tom." An official estimated that "better than 95%" of the 197 faculty and staff joined students in a written demand for academic freedom, "respect for the law of the land,"

Tapley in Amsterdam News

. . . and now, friends—we'll hear from Dr. Okra Butts on "Why Nigrahs don't want integrated schools!"

and right to belong to the NAACP. Summer vacation came without further punitive action.

PUNISHMENT: Regular students went home; summer students filled the campus. The "underground" **Free Press,** active all last winter, reappeared among the summer visitors. It retold the history of the boycott and listed stores and products to be avoided. The Baltimore **Afro-American** reported its checkup "revealed that the boycott is as tight as during the regular school term and will be renewed in September."

Delayed-action results from the winter-spring protest came late last month. Harlem's Rep. Powell charged in a press conference that S. C. State College trustees and President Turner had waited until students were home on vacation to expel "the cream of the student body" and a number of the faculty. He said every trustee-board member belonged to that "race-baiting cousin of the Ku Klux Klan," the White Citizens Councils.

Board Secy. W. C. Bethea retorted that only Moore had been expelled, since the school year was over when action was taken; that 15 others had simply been notified not to return for the next school term. Bethea admitted that teaching contracts for three faculty members hadn't been renewed and that "several others" hadn't been asked to renew. According to the **Afro,** "he termed the student protests against the WCC an 'insurrection' and said: 'The board is not going to put up with any such insurrections.'"

Southern School News (July) said Gov. Timmerman named six members of a legislative committee to investigate NAACP activity at the college and to determine "the extent to which faculty and student body . . . have participated . . . and whether the net results have been detrimental to the school and the state."

U. S. rebuffs Egypt

(Continued from Page 1)

as CSM said, "other Western diplomats and observers doubt this hypothesis, and contend that the [open skies] plan has by no means caught on."

INDIA'S PLEA: The Commission adjourned without considering Indian guest speaker Krishna Menon's eloquent plea to ban nuclear weapons tests; Menon declared he will pursue his proposal at the UN General Assembly sessions beginning Nov. 12. When Gromyko accused the U.S. of avoiding a compromise disarmament plan including suspension of nuclear weapons tests in order to maintain prosperity through war orders, U.S. delegate Lodge called this theory "an utter figment of the imagination." A number of U.S. sources, however, seemed to support Gromyko's theory.

For example, speaking before the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament (4/9), American Friends (Quaker) Service Committee staff member Russel Johnson said: "Our economy has become so involved with the defense establishment that a severe shock . . . would result should the approximately 10 million men and 40 billion dollars presently devoted to armaments . . . be released from that load."

And **U. S. News** (7/6) said that a "major recession" will be prevented by continued high level of government expenditure resulting from "the very great and very widespread [U.S.] vested interest in airfields, naval bases, Army installations, arms orders of various kinds."

JAPAN'S ELECTIONS: Washington, however, has been forced to make some changes in one of its major foreign bases. On July 18 the Defense Dept. announced that, as part of a U.S. Pacific and Far East military command reorganization plan, the Army's UN Far East Command will be transferred from Japan to S. Korea. This was the likely reason:

In the July 8 elections to Japan's Upper House, the Socialist party gained enough seats to prevent the Hatoyama government from amending the constitution to rearm Japan. The Socialist platform called for "a neutral foreign policy" like that of India, Burma and Indonesia; opposition to rearmament; support for the Okinawans, who have charged the U. S. occupation forces with taking over thousands of acres of their land at abysmally low rent and often expropriating their land at gun point (CSM, 7/13). The Okinawan plank, CSM reported (7/10), "hit the general public like an express train and won such enthusiastic approval" that the government party had to climb aboard the bandwagon.

THE IMPLICATIONS: In Tokyo, the Socialists and other left parties polled 40% more votes than the conservatives. Birth control proponent Shizue Kato, a woman Socialist, received more votes than any other candidate. The CP doubled its 1953 total of votes. "Socialist gains," the London **Daily Telegraph** (7/10 said, "reflect a shift towards neutralism that may have a far-reaching implication in [Japanese] foreign policy."

A Pentagon officer said (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 7/19) that the command transfer was not the result of pressure from the Japanese. He hoped that the transfer would "encourage the Japanese" to rearm and "should boost S. Korean morale."

Herblock in Washington Post

"FELLOWS, I'M NEUTRAL"

S. KOREAN MESS: S. Korean morale—if by morale is meant support for President Syngman Rhee—was sorely in need of boosting since the May 15 Korean elections when, for the first time, popular opposition to Rhee broke through his brutal police rule. The opposition candidate P. H. Shiniky (he died during the campaign but his name stayed on the ballot) who wanted to explore N. Korea's offer of negotiations for peaceful unification of Korea, got more votes than Rhee in Seoul.

Smarting from what CSM (6/1) called "a moral defeat," President Rhee has since been ruthlessly trying to tighten his control. He appointed a new national police chief, Kim Chong Won, "who has the reputation of being even tougher than his predecessor," and has shifted other regional police heads who "failed to deliver the votes in their areas" (N.Y. **Times,** 6/17).

THE MORALISTS: From Washington last week there came other samples of Washington's state of mind. They were (1) President Eisenhower's appointment of the China Lobby's Sen. William Knowland (R-Calif.) as a U.S. delegate to the UN and (2) continued moral preachment to the neutral — uncommitted — nations. This preachment has made for an international farce.

Early in June President Eisenhower declared that the unwillingness of some newly-freed nations to join military alliances was not immoral and perfectly understandable. On June 9 Dulles characterized neutrality as obsolete, shortsighted and immoral. Early in July Vice President Nixon, in Pakistan, directly attacked Nehru's neutral policy.

This was such an obvious diplomatic blunder that Dulles on July 11 said that countries belonging to the UN (which includes all those who can get in) were not immoral neutrals. He even absolved Switzerland—not a UN member—because it has been neutral for a long time. "The official doctrine at the moment," Walter Lippmann said (7/17), "is that neutrality is immoral but that there are no neutrals who are immoral."

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Philadelphia probe

(Continued from Page 1)

Harold Velde (R-Ill.) and Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio), concentrated on the Fund for the Republic. Most public interest centered on the appearance of actress Gale Sondergaard, who was called to the stand the day after she opened as co-star in a production of **Anastasia** in Philadelphia's Playhouse in the Park.

The committee's excuse for calling her a second time (she had invoked the Fifth Amendment in a 1951 appearance) was her listing as a blacklist victim in the Fund's recent report on that subject. She testified that she had appeared in about 40 movies up to 1947 when her husband, Herbert Biberman, one of the Hollywood Ten, went to jail for refusing to answer committee questions. During that time she won one Oscar, was a nominee for a second. After 1947 she appeared in only one other movie (1949); following her own appearance before the committee her employment possibilities further "diminished."

A TRICKY QUESTION: Velde indirecly suggested the blacklisting effect on an "unfriendly" witness when he asked the actress:

"Last time you were before the committee you refused to answer questions about communist affiliations. Now you say you found it hard to get work because you refused to testify. Don't you think if you had had a change of heart and told us about your experiences in communism, you would find work easier to get?"

Miss Sondergaard declined to answer that one. Following her appearance on the stand, she said in a press statement:

"For the committee to call me while I am deeply involved in a creative work which requires the greatest amount of concentration and freedom from distraction can only be construed as harassment."

Herblock in Washington Post

"There ain't no blacklist—and you're in contempt for not contributing names to it."

Although the opening of **Anastasia** had been preceded by a month-long campaign against Miss Sondergaard by the American Legion and other groups, a threatened picket line failed to appear and the 1,150-seat theater was a near sell-out; the assistant treasurer called it "the best Monday night of the year." The Philadelphia **Evening Bulletin** reported "her entry [onstage] brought a smattering of applause and no boos" and that after the play's climactic scene she and co-star Signe Hasso "earned an ovation from the first night audience."

JACK GILFORD: Also called to the stand was actor Jack Gilford, now appearing in the long-running **Diary of Anne Frank** in New York. He denied he is now a Communist, but invoked the Fifth Amendment on questions concerning past associations. He told the committee: "I would love to supply blacklist information. Everyone hates the blacklist—the whole TV industry. I have important information for you here."

But the committee refused to let him talk unless he answered a trick question: "Is it blacklisting to deny members of the communist conspiracy access to mass media such as television?"

THE QUAKERS: Most time of the two-day hearings was taken up with the Plymouth Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends which maintains a memorial library in the suburban community of Plymouth Meeting, Pa. The library had engaged Mrs. Mary Knowles as librarian after she had lost one job for declining to answer questions before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953. The Quaker group had been awarded a $5,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic when it refused under pressure to dismiss Mrs. Knowles; it was cited for its "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles."

The Meeting refused to honor a subpoena of its minutes on the grounds that it invaded its freedom of religion. In an advance statement to the committee Mrs. Lillian E. Tapley, chairman of the Meeting's library committee, said:

"An inquiry into why the Fund for the Republic should have made an award to Plymouth Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends necessarily raises the question why the Meeting should have employed Mrs. Mary Knowles in a library under its care. The award was made for that action. All the actions of Plymouth Monthly Meeting and of the library committee which conducts a part of the Meeting's affairs have been intended to express Christian beliefs of the Religious Society of Friends. A question concerning those actions is an inquiry into those beliefs and their practice."

"NOT ONE FACT": Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, chairman of the Fund for the Republic's special award committtee, flew up from Mexico City and demanded to be heard by the committee but chairman Walter would not let her take the stand. When her lawyer intervened for her, Walter shouted at him: "Sit down!" All that the hearing showed was that the Plymouth Meeting is unfortunately divided over the issue of Mrs. Knowles' employment. As the grilling ended, five members of the library committee reaffirmed their support of Mrs. Knowles both as "librarian and citizen" and said:

"A Committee of Congress has just spent virtually a whole day ventilating the unhappy internal affairs of a small religious group . . . Not a single fact has been developed that was not known before. The division in the Meeting, the various points of view, all had been well known long before. It is hard to see what public service is rendered by dramatizing a difference over a matter of conscience."

More cynical observers saw a reason: This is an election year and Rep. Walter is a Pennsylvanian; he made headlines in his home-town of Easton.

It was such fun

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Headline in N.Y. Times, July 21, 1956

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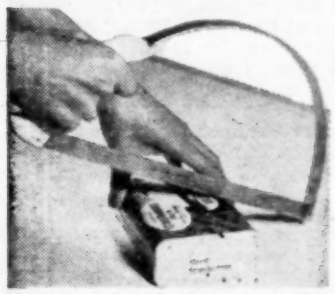

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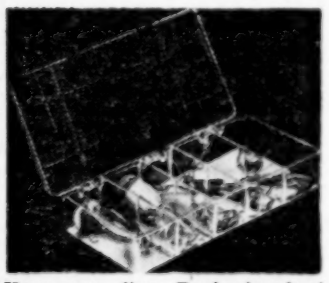

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The saga of Nkrumah

KWAME NKRUMAH was a black boy of Accra, a peasant and not of chieftain rank. He went to the mission school and then to work. He saw the looting of the United Africa Company when, during the depression, this vast monopoly was starving people of the Gold Coast to death. Britain summoned her war ships from Gibraltar and alerted her black troops of the West Coast and for the first time these troops refused to budge. England paused. Here was trouble in sight.

Young Nkrumah went to America and to England. He went to Moscow. He was in Paris when the trade unions met after World War II. He helped call the Fifth Pan-African Congress in England in 1945. There I first saw him and Kenyatta of Kenya and Johnson of Sierra Leone. Nkrumah was shabby, kindly, but earnest, and he and others called for justice in the cocoa market and freedom for the Gold Coast. I did not then dream that Nkrumah had the stamina and patience for this task.

KWAME NKRUMAH

TETTIE QUARSIE'S MOVE: That cocoa story was a fairy tale. Spaniards raised cocoa in Fernando Po with slaves; Britain and Holland processed it into chocolate and sold it in New York. Then the Quaker Cadburys of England had a scheme. They induced the world to boycott Spanish slavery so as to bring the cocoa crop to British West African plantations. But Tettie Quarsie balked them. He was a little black cocoa laborer on the island of Principe. He smuggled cocoa plants to the Gold Coast. Soon more cocoa was growing on the Gold Coast than in all the rest of the world and it was growing on little one-acre Negro farms and not on British-owned plantations.

The buyers from London, Amsterdam and New York thus could not control production, but they combined to control buying and bid so low that the growers struck. The cocoa market was thrown into confusion and, with war looming, England was forced to take over all cocoa buying. They offered the farmers the same low price but promised to refund any profit. They made $5,000,000 profit and then reneged on their promise. The Gold Coast seethed and the Fifth Pan-African Congress complained. Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast determined on independence. He laid out a plan for home rule on socialist lines and the government threw him in jail as a "communist". But the uproar was so great that they had to release him. Quietly and effectively he went into organization.

THE MANY IF'S: He worked not from the Chiefs down; not from the black British-educated intelligentia over, but from the working masses up. He lived, ate and slept with them. He traveled among them all over the land; he talked and pled in proud Ashanti, in Togoland, in the dark, crowded cities of the Coast. In the ensuing election his Convention People's Party won a clear majority.

Nkrumah then told Britain in effect that either it would grant independence to the Gold Coast or the Coast would take it. South Africa threatened, but Britain was reasonable: If Nkrumah could secure a steady democratic majority; if Nkrumah could secure the home talent to rule; if Nkrumah could insure the economic stability of the Gold Coast—in such unlikely case the Gold Coast would be recognized as an independent dominion of the British Commonwealth.

THE COLONIAL HAND: Nkrumah took over the sale of cocoa as a government monopoly. He planned an electric power dam on the Volta River with British and foreign capital, but so fenced it in by government supervision that its "free enterprise" was under strict social control. Slowly but surely Nkrumah spread education, and secured educated black civil servants to man the ship of state. In the 1954 election he increased his popular majority. The British began to yield. Some of their best officials on the Gold Coast cooperated whole-heartedly with Nkrumah.

But the Colonial Office in England played its last hand. It sowed seeds of internal dissent; it encouraged tribalism and provincialism; especially among the Ashanti whom the British had conquered in the 19th century after six wars. Now Ashanti chiefs were encouraged to resent the domination of a peasant from the coast. They demanded autonomy for Ashanti and the "Federation" of the many provinces of the Gold Coast, with its total population of only five million.

ONE MORE ELECTION: Nkrumah called for a conference and a British Commission appeared. The Ashanti refused to take part. One of the black Oxford-educated leaders, married to the daughter of Sir Stafford Cripps, leaped to the aid of the dissidents. But cool Nkrumah gave rein to the commission, compromised and kept power in the hands of the central government while recognizing the right of provincial debate and suggestion.

Togoland voted to stand by Nkrumah. Then Nkrumah offered to appeal to the people in a final election. After that he demanded independence with or without British consent. Moreover, he insisted that the new nation be called "Ghana" after that black nation which flourished in Africa one thousand years ago before white slave drivers named the shores of Guinea, "Gold" and "Slave" and "Grain."

Last week Nkrumah increased his majority in a nation-wide election: he secured 71 Legislative Assembly delegates out of a total of 104. I cabled him my congratulations. **W. E. B. DuBois**